2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

634 *fonos* to their own dependants, when they want
651 any thing done. It must be observed, that in
653 all these *fonos*, whether general or partial, the
[565] labour and care fall entirely upon the lower order of the people; for although in the general *fono* the petty chiefs take the care ostensibly to themselves, yet afterwards, by a minor *fono*, each confers it on his dependants. Notwithstanding all this, the lower classes have time
565 enough on their hands, and means enough in
735 their possession, to live comfortably; that is to say, they have food sufficient for themselves and their children, however large their families, and enough clothing; and withal need never be in want of a house, for that is easily built: in short, real poverty is not known among
634 them. A *fono*, although it may regard some
651 affair of a public nature, is not always upon a
653 subject where a tax is necessary to be levied, but frequently upon some matter connected with civil policy; as for instance,—when a piece of ground is laid waste by war, certain persons are appointed to cultivate it; and the chiefs are ordered not to oppress them with taxes, or with visits on their plantations, before
634 they can supply means. It not unfrequently
627 happens that young chiefs molest women whom
684 they meet on the road; then their husbands, if
577 they are married women, make complaints to

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

who refuses to work and get that which will meet the legitimate demands of the teeth. 539 461

101. Teu ke hihi kae ola: About to cut out but gnawing. 539

This refers primarily to the coconut. A nut has been split open in order to cut the flesh out with a knife when someone greedily seizes it and chews the flesh out with his teeth, a thing befitting an animal or bad-mannered man. May be applied to a thing which is about to be carried out in a proper, decent way, but is actually done in an unseemly manner. 264 576

PRESENTING, BEGGING, KEEPING FOOD

102. Kai pe lea: Just eating speech. 539

Used of a man for whom there is no portion when the food presented to a chief is divided and distributed, but to whom the chief speaks. The individual thus honored by the chief will feel that he has after all some part in the ceremony although he has not received a present of food. 264 554

103. Koe ma ka te mate: Ashamed, but I'll die. 539

Used in the first place of begging food. What is the use of being ashamed to ask for food, seeing that if you do not get it you will die, or be very hungry. (It is very common in Tongan to say that one is *mate*, dead, of hunger, thirst, of desire for some thing, without indicating any extreme stress.) This expression is applied generally to making requests of any kind. 431 735

104. Motu ka nae navei: Broken but it was bound. 539

Navei are small cords passed through the top of a basket, especially of food, and fastened round the pole on which it is slung. These cords are not the main lashing, which is a long cord or vine passing several times round the basket and pole. The idea is that although the large lashing has been adjusted yet it is well to avoid risks by adding these auxiliary bindings. The expression has this sense of making assurance doubly sure. Sometimes the phrase is rendered, *Motu ka nae kavei*, which has the same meaning as the above except that the *kavei* is the main lashing. This, which seems to be more familiar to the younger generation of Tongans, may be applied to a mishap which has not been the effect of negligence. There has been an accident but those whose business it was to look after the matter in question evidently did their work carefully and thoroughly. 415 482 [829]

105. Puia a kaiaji: Sending a forager. 539

When one is sent to procure food for a party he will be the first to eat of what he has obtained. So used of one who is the first to reap the advantage of something that he has been sent to do, or to get. 156 571

106. Ua ma kae mae ma: Eat *ma* but be careful of *ma*. 539

Ma is the food made from fermented fruit. This expression indicates literally one who has a supply of *ma* of his own, but is very sparing 262 183 591

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 386 over the branch of a tree so that the mat forms a loop hanging down to a convenient height. A pole is put through the loop, and manned (or "womanned") by several people who turn the pole round, thus twisting the strainer up tight and expressing the pigment which runs into a receptacle placed to catch it. This mat in the course of twisting is subjected [461 626] to a great strain but is hard to break. The expression is used of a lazy person who, although he is the subject of many admonitions and rebukes, is yet very hard to shift.

539 287 426 **129. Maamaa a hiki papa:** Shifting the tapa board is light.

The *papa* is the long hollow board, or rather wooden structure, used in printing designs on the native cloth. It is fairly heavy and requires two or three people to lift it about. The idea of this expression is that one who wants to borrow one of these printing boards for cloth making in his own home finds no difficulty about securing the necessary help to lift it, but when it comes to returning it to its owners there are constant difficulties in the way.

539 286 735 **130. Nae li ki fe hoo geeji kahi?** Where did you throw your *kahi* shell?

The *kahi* shell (*Arca scapha*) is used as a scraper in the preparation of the native cloth. This phrase is a reply to one who goes to beg cloth from another. What did you do with the shells for making scrapers that you have not got a stock of cloth for yourself? The expression is not confined to those who beg cloth, but is extended generally to those who find themselves in want of a commodity which they might reasonably be expected to supply for themselves.

539 386 183 571 **131. Tai e oko atu:** The coloring matter will run on, that is, the coloring matter with which one part of the cloth is stained is that with which the adjoining part will also be colored.

This expression is used as a reproof and warning to those who jeer at the misfortunes which have come upon another. Just as the color on one section of the cloth is repeated on the next and each part in turn comes to be stained, so will he who today scoffs at the afflictions of another find himself in his turn involved in the like misfortunes. It is applied especially to the infirmities of old age. The strong man may laugh today at the weaknesses of age, but his own turn will come.

539 386 517 **132. Tuu tai:** Coloring standing, that is, a thing in which is the coloring matter used in staining the native cloth.

This phrase is not properly classed as a proverbial expression but is always written and felt as a single word, meaning beautiful, handsome, whether of physical feature or of conduct.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

OTHER MANUFACTURES

133. E homo ae hui a Lafi: The needle of Lafi will be parted with, that is, will be parted with more easily than the thing that one proposes to do will be accomplished. 539 412

Lafi is said to have been the first to use the bone needle and whale's tooth in the manufacture of certain articles. His needle, or piercing instrument, was naturally not a thing to be given away lightly and obtaining the needle has become proverbial for that which is difficult of attainment. (Compare Nos. 340, 358 and 370.)

134 Haihaija Kae heheia: Bound up yet wandering about. 539 422 735 556

The thing that is bound up is wealth, and its owner does the wandering about. Tongan wealth, consisting largely of mats and cloth, is tied up in bundles and kept in the rafters of houses. One who is not well provided with these necessaries of life will be likely to go about looking for someone of whom he may beg a supply. This expression indicates one who, though possessed of ample store himself, keeps his own goods carefully bundled up at home and goes about seeking assistance from the bounty of others as though he had nothing of his own. (Compare No. 106.)

135. Hange ha fala kuo fofola: Like a mat spread out. 539

Applied to a calm sea, also generally to anything with a smooth surface.

136. Hange ha lali foa: Like a cracked drum. 539 422 829

When the native drum is broken it is not usually thrown away but is stowed in the house where obviously it must often get in the way. The phrase is applied to useless people who merely take up room about a place.

137. Nifi eni kae nafa e: Little this but great that, that is, this is nothing to what there is going to be. 539 534

The word *nafa*, translated "great", means really the Tongan drum which consisted of a bundle of lengths of bamboo, closed at one end and open at the other, so arranged that half the openings were at one end and half at the other. A mat was wrapped round the bundle of bamboos, but leaving the ends exposed. The instrument was not stood on end, but laid lengthwise, and beaten with two sticks on the upper surface. In contradistinction to *nifi*, small and thin, the drum is used here as the symbol of that which is large and bulky.

138. Nimo i talafau: Hidden in the *talafau*. 539 285

Talafau is the space between two rows of plaiting on the bottom of one type of basket (called *kato fakaono*) of rather superior design and used only for things that will not soil it. A small article might be con-

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

239. Unga toho ngeeji: Hermit crab dragging shell.

The hermit crab, burdened as he is with the shell of some other creature, makes only slow progress when he moves. This expression is used of one who is slow in his work or movements.

240. Koe loli foki e vau: The sea-slug (*Holothuria atra*) anyway will be scraped.

This sea-slug is found in great numbers on the reefs; before it is eaten its outer bitter skin is scraped off. If those who go out on the reef for shell-fish and the like fail in finding anything else they are sure to be able to get some sea-slugs to scrape. Used of conversation which failing of topics comes round to some thread-bare subject or well-worn scandal.

241. Pulou kema: Veiled with a clam-shell.

Used to one who is ashamed to make a request. It is like saying "put a clam-shell over your face so that it cannot be seen and then beg for what you want." Also used of one who is very ready at begging things from others. He is as though he had no shame, as though his face were always shielded from observation. (Compare No. 395.)

242. Tafola vetevete afi: *Tafola* scattering fire.

The *tafola* is a kind of crab which is cooked by being thrown alive into the embers and whose death agony is marked by violent struggles which scatter the fire. The expression is used of a disobedient child who apparently makes a moral dispersal of his elders' commands analogous to the displacing of the fire by the luckless crab.

243. Takanga a pipi mo kahi: Companionship of the *pipi* and *kahi*.

The *pipi* and the *kahi* are two shell-fish which are often found together, but the *kahi* devours the *pipi*. It is like the companionship of a simpleton with a sharper who fleeces him. Baker translates the phrase: "To make a pet or comrade of one who will cause trouble or pain." (Compare No. 47.)

244. Tanu a uu: The burying of the robber crab, or the robber crab buries himself.

The robber crab (*Birgus latro*), burrows into the sand and buries himself, often for months at a time. He remains under ground so long that one might think he was dead but one day he comes again to the surface. So used of a thing that is long out of sight but at length comes again to light.

245. Tonuhia ae kaloaa ka koe vaka: The *kaloaa* is in the right but it is the boat.

The *kaloaa* is a shell-fish (*Arca scapha*?) which does not move about, unlike the boat which goes and comes at will. So if any disagreement

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 776 825 571 of the creatures of which the gods "made boats," as Tongan idiom has it, that is, in which they appeared. The proverb is applied to one who makes use of some other person or thing in order to effect his purpose.

382. To fuji aki vahaa ufi:

539 782 244 Baker renders this phrase, "A part of the heathen ceremony at the *Inaji*" (An English and Tongan and Tongan and English Vocabulary, p. 209). We have been able to find out nothing about this. Written as above it seems to have the perfectly simple sense of planting plantains between yams. It has been suggested that the correct meaning may be: to use the space between the yams as a measure to calculate the distance apart to plant the plantains. This also is quite in accordance with the literal meaning of the words. We may divide differently, and write, *To fuji aki vahaa ufi*, which would seem to mean, "running in between yams." We have not discovered either what part of the *Inaji* was so named, nor what proverbial application the phrase had.

THE PERSON

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

539 302 157 554 565 **383. Fie namu pako:** Wishing to smell of *pako*.

The *pako* is a sweet smelling plant used for scenting oil, especially the oil of chiefs. The expression is capable of two kinds of application: desiring to do well that one's life and actions may have a fragrant odor, and the less generous meaning of conceit, trying to be like the chiefs.

539 735 291 **384. Fuji mo omo:** Pulling and slipping.

Used as noun or adjective equivalent to poverty, poor. Said to indicate literally one who is so poor that he cannot afford enough cloth for a proper sized *vala* (kilt), but has to put up with something so small that when he pulls it one way to cover a part of his body another part is left bare. Whether this be so or not it has come to mean those who have difficulty in "making ends meet."

539 291 301 **385. Laukau falelava:** Finery of various sorts.

Laukau, personal adornment, is used with the rather depreciatory nuance with which in English we speak of overdone, or over-vivid finery. *Laukau falelava* is not unlike such a colloquialism as, "Having 'em all on."

539 421 513 **386. Mafana a penu kehe:** Warmth of another's bed-clothes.

One man may have made himself very snug in another's covering, but can have no real ground of complaint when the rightful owner comes along and takes what belongs to him, leaving the snug man cold. So generally one may enjoy the advantage of using another man's property but he has no kick coming when the owner takes it to use for himself.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

387. Maomao ki taovala: Ready, prepared with *taovala.* 539

The *taovala* is the girdle, usually a piece of mat, put round the waist before going into the presence of a chief. The phrase means to have the *taovala* always handy to be used whenever needed; hence to be prepared for any emergency that may arise. 292 183

388. Pule Taoa: Taoa finery.

Pule is literally "spotted," "variegated," as the design in some cloths, or the markings of a cowry shell. This expression is modern and is applied to an European print with a big, gaudy pattern. It is said that one day several women from Taoa, a village in Vavau, went into a store in Neiafu and bought some prints, apparently of rather striking designs. While they were still in the store a man came in and, seeing their purchases, remarked in the words of this expression "Taoa is going in for spots," and the phrase has stuck. 539 291 177

389. Tui momoa: Dry knee, that is, a knee that is hard and dry through exposure to the weather. 539 291 735

A woman's ordinary dress should descend below the knee; an exception is made of the festive dresses worn in dances and sometimes on other ceremonious occasions. This expression indicates primarily a woman so poor that she cannot afford a sufficiently broad piece of cloth for her waistcloth, and so has her knees exposed to the sun and rain and wind. It is used derisively of a poor person.

390. Vala kovi fie kofu silika: Bad loin-cloth wanting to be silk dress. 539 291 554

Evidently modern. The point is rendered plainer if the statement is correct that in the early days silk cost as much as £5 a yard. Used of a commoner who wants to act the chief.

FACIAL EXPRESSION AND GESTURES

391. Faka-alinga lelei: Making a fair showing. 539 828

This expression carries the implication that there are faults behind the pleasant exterior or that an amiable face may be the mask assumed by very unfriendly feelings.

392. Faka-pula-matai: Making eye swell. 539 152 201

Used of a very angry man, whose eyes protrude in his rage. May be used also of the victim of this rage, whose eyes may swell with vexation and grief, or who may even get a swollen eye through the physical application of the other man's anger; in this sense not unlike the English vulgarism of giving anyone a thick ear.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

it rather a commendable dexterity, than a crime, to rob European articles, because so rare and valuable, yet they would not plunder the plantation of another, especially that of a stranger. Many of the natives around who were pressed with want, came to beg the fruits of my estate. The abbee was robbed however but once, and that was by one man of the lowest order. He was detected by some other natives, who with great dexterity, discovered that he was the person who had stolen some pines and plantains from my abbee, by bringing the fruits to the trees, from which they had been robbed, and fitting them to the branches where they had been broken off. So great is their severity against a plunderer of the plantations, that they would have put him to death, had not I interposed: but they would not be satisfied without tying him up and flogging him.

The umbrageous walk which my thick-set hedge of canes soon formed, was the admiration of all who saw it. It was my pleasure to trim my little shrubbery, and keep it clean and neat: and its delicious fruits and cooling shade, amply repaid me for my trouble. When wearied with labour, in my fields, I found great refreshment in walking or reclining in my embowering harbour of canes, and sucking the juicy sugar they contained. I used to break off a cane at the root, snap it into two or three parts, and, stripping down the cane, suck the pith which was saturated with the sweet juice.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

733 276 sleepy during the day. Instead of working in his garden, (735) the addict spends his daylight hours asleep. Poverty and a lack of food are characteristic of his household. Those who (461) are recognized as the hardest workers in the village are conspicuously those who rarely drink *kava* in the evenings or who are content with two or three rounds only of *kava* before going to sleep.

276 593 733 Domestic trouble arises because the drinker generally deserts his household to drink elsewhere. This is illustrated by the case of the heaviest drinker in the village. He drinks *kava* several times daily. His own house is small and unsuitable for *kava*-parties. It is also very close to the bush (776) that encircles the village and close therefore to the numerous and malevolent evil spirits *(tevolo)* that haunt the bush after nightfall. This makes the house a dangerous place in which to leave a wife and small children without adult male protection. Hence the addict's wife is continually angry because of this desertion. There have been frequent domestic brawls and the wife has occasionally deserted her husband. Moreover, this addict rarely works in his gardens. He leaves (156) gardening to his aged father who is recognized as definitely "queer" by the villagers (the father shuns company, is (181) given to long solitary walks, talks softly to himself: the very antithesis of the sociability-loving Tongan). Much of (434) the money the addict obtains from his school-teaching he (432) spends buying *kava*-root at the store. Thus the household is poor in every respect.

276 733 This addict is an extreme case of *kava*-craving. Village opinion does not of course consider the fact that he may have become an addict because of certain personality difficulties which have of themselves made his domestic life unsatisfactory. This would be a somewhat sophisticated view for the villager to try to comprehend. Hence he simply takes it for granted that excessive *kava*-drinking is the cause of all troubles. His conviction is perhaps rendered more certain (293) by noticing the results when some of the more daring young men have emptied a bottle of whisky into a full *kava* bowl and then swallowed the resulting concoction. (There are (671) very stringent, enforced laws against drinking the white man's liquor or beer—only very occasionally could this happen.)

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

King George to visit New South Wales to see how the people of civilised countries lived and managed their affairs. The King eagerly accepted the idea and was ready to leave Tonga on a man-of-war, 'but the Missionaries, fearing that influences unfriendly to his spirituality might possibly act upon him in such a vessel' (Young 1854:213) persuaded him to wait for their own vessel, the *John Wesley*.

The extent of the impact of this new experience on the King's mind remains a matter for conjecture, but one wonders whether he may not have received a similar impression to the one expressed by his son, Tēvita 'Unga, when he visited Sydney in 1872. When 'Unga returned to Tonga, he told the people that he had discovered on his trip that 'rulers' in Sydney were not all ministers of religion but businessmen (W. T. Rabone to his father, 5 July 1872, WMMSA 1852-79). There was one experience, however, which left a marked impression on King George, and which was later reflected in the 1862 Code of Laws. In Sydney he encountered poverty. It has been said that he saw many poorly dressed people, obviously ill-fed, sleeping in the parks. He asked about these people, and was told they were homeless people who had no place to go. This state of affairs was greatly surprising to King George, who could not understand how there could be homeless and poverty-stricken people in a land as large and obviously rich as Australia. His heart was so full of pity for the plight of these people that he determined that such an appalling situation should never be allowed to arise in Tonga (informant, Her Majesty the late Queen Sālote). The King was also very impressed with the leasehold system of land tenure which he saw in Sydney, and he made up his mind that the land in Tonga should be distributed among his own people along similar lines.

This appears to have been the origin of King George's idea of legislating for the individual ownership of land—a revolutionary change in the system of land tenure in Tonga. The prohibition of the sale of land which appeared in Clause II of the 1862 Code was only a legislation of customary land tenure, but the notion of individual ownership of land by leasehold was something quite new.

One can observe the influence of his overseas experience in

315 648 1971. Nothing came of the search, and the consortium members finally abandoned their efforts in December of 1971. Early in 1975, Japan's largest oil-mining company expressed interest in further oil exploration, and in March of 1975 New Zealand's chief petroleum geologist visited Tonga and said, "Dig deeper!" The first two test holes were only 5500 feet deep, and the New Zealand geologist said at least 10,000 feet was necessary.[20] [643] In connection with future oil exploration plans, His Majesty King Taufa'ahua Tupou IV flew to Saudi Arabia in June of 1974. At hat time he also visited the Arabian Gulf oil state of Bahrain, and in March of 1975 His Majesty revisited Bahrain. In 1975, an American-based oil company became actively engaged in Tonga, and work continues.

CONCLUSIONS

178 457 What is the social and economic impact of tourism on Tonga? The benefits continue to outweigh, by a narrow margin, the negative aspects of tourism. Tourism in Tonga must not, however, be singled out and examined apart from other aspects of Tongan life, for it is closely bound to them. Too much tourism might well destroy what the tourists go to experience: the peace, graciousness, and beauty of a Polynesian island. Signs of deterioration of everyday life in Tonga which can be laid directly or indirectly to increased tourism are already evident. Some Tongan children now beg [735] from the tourists at the major tourist attractions. Prostitution and homosexuality are increasing.[21] [548] Drunkenness is the major source of the increasing crime in the Kingdom. [838] Tongans have been evicted from their own [674] International Dateline Hotel for drunkenness in order [293] to "protect the image of the Kingdom in the eyes of the tourist.[22] 178 674 Housebreaking, theft, and unlawful entry are increasing. In 1973, there were 427 convictions for theft in the Kingdom, an increase of 23 percent over 1972.[23] In 1972, the Tongan Criminal Investigation Division preferred fifteen housebreaking and theft charges against two Tongan males who had apparently entered homes and had "stolen good(s) from New Zealand, American, [and] Australian volunteers in [the] Nuku'alofa area."[24] It is not at all unusual for windows on Tongan homes to be heavily barred, and for numerous dogs to be kept in the yards for warning and protection against thieves. Crimes of violence are also increasing, and non-Tongans are frequently attacked by Tongans. Referring to Tonga's growing crime problem, the Tongan Minister of Police said, "In view of population pressures and economic side effects, it is reasonable to predict [625] a future of potential increase of crime."[25] The Tongan

[p. 92-B]

A,B,C,D,E,F,[For footnotes, see p. 93-B--Analyst]

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
OU9 Tonga OU9

Tonga, and they want to "see" Tonga; but all too often cruise passengers get only a look at a "phony-folk-culture" in action—a Disneyland of the Pacific, so to speak.

The air guests, fewer in number (but staying longer), may have a somewhat different experience. They have the opportunity to enjoy the recreational facilities of a tropical island—swimming, fishing, and snorkeling—and they may also have the opportunity to see more of the island at a gradual pace, to meet some of the truly hospitable Tongans on a person-to-person basis, and to share a truly cross-cultural educational experience. However, the actual experiences of the tourist can be less than this ideal.

Forster (1964, pp. 217-22) pointed out that one of the fascinating aspects of the tourist process in the Pacific is the deliberate creation of a "phony-folk-culture," which the indigenous inhabitants develop to provide "authentic native culture" to the tourists. For example, a popular tourist "attraction" is a display of dances in Tonga: the program may contain almost a dozen Fijian, Tahitian, Hawaiian, or New Zealand dances performed by the Tongan dancers but show only one or two Tongan dances. The fact is granted that a Tahitian *tamure* has a tremendous amount of visual impact, and a Fijian fire dance is dramatic, but Tongan dances have a beauty and symmetry of their own that should be performed for the visitors to Tonga.

It is this alteration of their basic culture that has prompted Tongans to consider legislating the tourist industry. They seek to ensure the active preservation of the traditional Tongan way of life and culture by integrating traditional patterns into mass tourism and not making traditional culture a contemporary "phony-folk-culture."

Other tangible and observable social problems have developed in the Kingdom as a result of the tourist influx: some Tongan children now beg from tourists at the major tourist attractions; prostitution and homosexuality appear to be increasing (not necessarily for the tourists but for the crew members of the cruise ships); tourists are harassed as they walk through city streets and villages; and price-gouging, especially for transportation, is a common complaint.

The substantial amount of quickly-generated cash derived from cruise ship passengers (for an "authentic" Polynesian feast, shore excursions around the island, and the purchase of handicrafts), when placed into circulation in the port towns, can be the occasion for a party. Drinking may commence even before the ship has weighed anchor and drunkenness appears to be a major source of crime. Tongans still enjoy their traditional *kava* drink, but as I have stated elsewhere, when individuals begin to consume more alcohol than *kava*, in violation of their Christian ethic, it is an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has shifted. In recent years Tongans have been evicted from their own